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# Forgotten Books

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Facts for Thinking Men :  
SHOWING THE NECESSITY OF  
AFRICAN COLONIZATION  
TO SECURE THE SUCCESS OF  
TROPICAL FREE LABOR.

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It is a dictate of prudence, in all human pursuits, to pause, at times, and review the past, that we may ascertain whether our efforts have been successful, or whether a change of policy may not be demanded to accomplish our purposes. The more important the interests involved, the greater is the necessity for the adoption of this rule. Let us apply it to the efforts which have been made in behalf of the oppressed people of Africa. Except the propagation of the Gospel, few benevolent enterprises have enlisted so many hearts as those for the destruction of the African slave trade and the abolition of slavery ; and, in none have the active agents been so often foiled, and doomed to see their brightest hopes decay and almost die, as in these twin offsprings of benevolence.

An impression has gone abroad, of late, among a certain class, that much progress has been made in overturning the system of slavery ; and, that, in a little time, the task will be done, and the oppressed go free. It is proposed, in the space of a few pages, to notice the more prominent events connected with the subject, with the view of showing that this belief is not warranted by the facts in the case ; and that the Anti-Slavery policy, so far as it has opposed Colonization to Africa, has retarded emancipation, by checking the extension of free labor tropical cultivation, and thus rendered slave labor more and more necessary, and more and more profitable, in the cultivation of those tropical products which the constantly increasing wants of commerce now so imperiously demand.

In performing this task, we shall direct attention to the enormous indebtedness of the Christian world to slave labor, at this moment, for certain articles of prime necessity ; then show the inability of free labor, in tropical and semi-tropical countries, to compete with the slave labor of those regions so as to afford any relief ; present facts to prove, that the tendency of the efforts of Great Britain, in behalf of the African race, up to a recent date, has been to increase the evils she was attempting to destroy ; offer some considerations which make it probable, that the suppression of the African slave trade, an event now considered cer-

tain, will be of immense pecuniary benefit to the slave holders of the United States; and, in concluding, demonstrate that the only hope for any great increase of free labor tropical cultivation, at an early day, is in Africa, and that the main prospect of making it available there, is by colonization to Liberia.

As the field of investigation is an extensive one, we must study great brevity; and, to render our labors less complicated, we shall refer to three articles of slave labor product, only, viz.: Coffee, Sugar, and Cotton. First, then, as to the indebtedness of the Christian world to slave labor.

According to official documents, and other reliable sources of information, the consumption of Cotton in Europe and the United States for 1849,\* was 1,179,920,000 lbs. Of this amount, only 78,589,200 lbs. were the product of free labor countries, leaving the Christian world indebted to slave labor, for this article of prime necessity, to the extent of 1,101,330,800 lbs.

Of this amount England consumed 624,000,000 lbs., of which only 71,469,200 lbs. were from free labor countries, leaving her indebted to slave labor countries for 552,530,800 lbs. of Cotton. The amount of this article consumed by Great Britain, being more than one half of the whole consumption of the Christian world, shows that she is the greatest prop to slavery in the world. Her patronage to the slave holders of the United States, alone, for 1849, was, for Cotton, 734,244,560 lbs., of which she manufactured 522,530,800 lbs. and exported the remainder to the Continent.

But why is this? we may be asked. Why is it that England, after making such immense sacrifices for the overthrow of slavery in her own dominions, should be the principal purchaser of the products of the slave labor of a rival nation? We answer, that her greatness and power, the ability to meet the payment of the interest upon her national debt and to sustain the throne itself, is dependent upon her commerce; and that her commerce is based upon her exports of manufactures. These exports stood as follows, for the year 1849, and that year will serve as the index to other years:

|                                    |             |               |
|------------------------------------|-------------|---------------|
| Silks Exported, .....              | \$5,001,785 |               |
| Woolen Goods, Exported, .....      | 42,096,650  |               |
| Linen       “       “       .....  | 20,517,215  | \$67,615,650  |
| Cotton       “       “       ..... |             | \$139,453,970 |

It will be seen, therefore, that Cotton is indispensable to Great Britain, and that to cut off her supply of that article. would be to destroy nearly two thirds of her commerce, manufactures of Iron excepted.

The United States is also dependent upon Cotton, to a large extent, as the basis of her foreign commerce, not only as it respects the raw material, but in the manufactured article.

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\*This Tract is a condensed enumeration of the facts embraced in the pamphlet addressed to the Ohio Constitutional Convention, in 1850, on "the present relations of free labor to slave labor," and their bearing on African Colonization. The authorities, for the facts stated, are all given in that document, and are to be relied upon as correct, both there and here. The suppression of the slave trade, then in anticipation, has now been nearly realized, and the arguments based upon this event will be found worth considering.

To understand the full indebtedness of the Christian world to slave labor and to free labor, respectively, at this moment, the following figures must be given :

CONSUMPTION OF COTTON, SUGAR, AND COFFEE, IN 1849.

|              | Slave Labor.  | Free Labor. | Slave Labor Excess. |
|--------------|---------------|-------------|---------------------|
| Cotton, lbs. | 1,101,330,800 | 78,589,200  | 1,022,741,000       |
| Sugar, “     | 1,220,000,000 | 933,024,000 | 286,975,000         |
| Coffee, “    | 338,240,000   | 217,800,000 | 120,440,000         |

These figures show the relation in which the Christian world stood, to these two systems of labor, in 1849, and that relation has not since undergone any material change. Nor is there any practicable mode of immediately altering this relation, now apparent to the eye of the Christian philanthropist. Much dependence has hitherto been placed on the application of moral suasion, for the removal of slavery from our country. But the demands of commerce now far outweigh the moral forces operating against that institution, and it must continue, as far as man can judge, until a change in the sources of supply, of the commodities upon which slave labor is employed, can be accomplished.

But there is no prospect of such a change being effected in the countries now producing these commodities. Their production by slave labor has been rapidly *increasing* for many years, while that by free labor has been as regularly *decreasing*, so that no material change is to be expected very soon. The truth of this assertion will be evident when it is stated, that the forces employed within the western hemisphere, in the cultivation of Coffee, Sugar, and Cotton, for export, stand about thus : \*

|                               |           |
|-------------------------------|-----------|
| Slave population .....        | 6,657,000 |
| Free colored population ..... | 1,657,000 |

The latter class, standing only as one to six, cannot, by any possibility, compete with the former, and no revolution in the supplies of the commodities named, is to be expected from that quarter.

In confirmation of this view, it is only necessary to say, that while the slave trade supplied the English West India planters and those of Hayti with laborers, the exports in a single year, of the articles under consideration, from these Islands—the latter in 1790 and the former in 1807—amounted to 928,000,000 lbs. ; while under freedom, from 1838 to 1848, their exports averaged, annually, only 356,000,000 lbs.,—being a decrease of 572,000,000 lbs. As there was, during the periods named, no diminution in the consumption of these articles, but a steady increase, this falling off in the amount of free labor products operated as a great stimulus to the slave holder, and also to the slave trader. Is this doubted ? Then look at a few facts connected with this subject.

When England prohibited the slave trade to her citizens, and thus cut off the supply of laborers to her West India planters, in 1808, the ex-

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\* This does not include the free colored people of the United States, nor the one million of slaves in this country, who reside north of the Cotton and Sugar line. The whole number of African Slaves in the Western Hemisphere is about 7,600,000.

ports of slaves from Africa, were but 85,000 annually ; but, instead of being diminished by that act, that bloody traffic went on increasing, until, in 1830, it had reached an average of 125,000 annually. In 1833, the Emancipation Act was passed by Parliament, and it was followed by a still farther increase of the slave trade, running up the exports of slaves from Africa, between 1835 and 1840, to 135,800 per annum.

But why this result? Cuba, Brazil, and the French West India Colonies, continued to purchase imported slaves, that they might extend their cultivation, and reap all the advantages of the decreased production, under free labor, in Hayti, and the British West India possessions.

To give a clear idea of the rapidity with which the demand for these products has increased, one instance only need be given, which will serve as an index to the whole. In 1805, the English consumption of Cotton was but 60,000,000 lbs. In 1833 it was 287,000,000 lbs., and in 1845 it had risen to 626,000,000 lbs. But in 1849 it was reduced to 624,000,000 lbs. To this fact we shall recur again, at present merely stating, that as the cultivation of Coffee, Sugar, and Cotton, went down in Hayti and the British West Indies, it went up in the countries employing slave labor.

Being in the possession of such facts as these, a just conception can be formed of the present indebtedness of the Christian world to slave labor, and the character of the obstacles in the way of effecting any immediate change in that relation. In the article of Cotton, alone, the excess of the consumption of the products of slave labor over free labor, is more than *one thousand millions of pounds* ; and, in all three of the products named, it is over *fourteen hundred and thirty millions of pounds*.

Attention must now be directed to another aspect of this subject, and one that is indispensable to the proper understanding of the present posture of slave labor.

It had become apparent, at the close of 1849, that slave labor, and free labor, both combined, were about to fail in producing an adequate supply of Cotton and Coffee, to meet the demand for these commodities ; and, as a necessary consequence, the prices of both advanced, largely, beyond what they had been for years. It was also known, that except so far as more favorable seasons might afford larger crops, occasionally, no increased ratio of production was to be expected in the countries engaged in the cultivation of these articles ; and that their consumption had been increasing in a greater ratio than their production, so that a short supply must become permanent, unless additional laborers, in other countries, not now producing them, could be induced to engage in their cultivation.

There was one mode, indeed, by which an increased production of these commodities might have been secured, in the present producing countries ; and that was by an unlimited and untrammelled increase of the slave trade, adding, annually, two or three hundred thousand slaves to the plantations of Brazil, Cuba, and other slave labor countries. And such was the pressing necessity for an increased supply of Cotton in England, in 1850, that this course of policy was very nearly adopted. The philanthropists, despairing, at that moment, of the suppression of the slave trade, and anxious to relieve it of the horrors induced by the

fear of capture on the part of the traders ; and, moreover, being mostly “ peace men,” and opposed to the shedding of blood ; had commenced to urge the withdrawal of the naval squadrons from the African coast, so as to leave the traffic in slaves once more unmolested, that it might be prosecuted with care and deliberation and less loss of human life. During 1850 and each of the four preceding years, Brazil received from Africa, from 50,000 to 60,000 slaves for the supply of her planters, notwithstanding the efforts of the squadrons to prevent it. But, as the mortality of her slaves is ten per cent. per annum, she needed 200,000 at least, to keep pace with the demands which commerce was making upon her for slave grown products. The English Cotton lords, foreseeing, doubtless, that the movement would at once double the supply of laborers to Brazil, and increase her ability to export Cotton, readily united with the philanthropists, and, in the name of humanity, demanded that the government should withdraw its African squadron. The adoption of this measure by Parliament, would have given to the slave trader an uninterrupted field for renewing his horrid traffic in human flesh. But Lord John Russell brought the whole weight of his influence against it, as Premier, and refused any longer to have the action of government controlled by men who had proved themselves, throughout the anti-slavery movement, as ignorant of the principles of political economy, as they were erroneous in their notions of human nature.

To afford a true idea of the embarrassments under which the English manufacturers’ labor, in reference to a supply of Cotton to keep their looms in motion, it is only necessary to state : that from 1830 to 1845, omitting 1837 and 1841, the *increase* in the consumption of Cotton in England, averaged, annually, nearly 35,000,000 lbs. The whole consumption, in 1830, was 247,600,000 lbs. and in 1845 it had risen as before stated, to 626,496,000 lbs. But in 1845 her consumption of Cotton had reached its maximum, and she has not since manufactured so large a quantity, in any one year, by two or three millions of pounds. The reason of this is fully explained in the London Economist and other British periodicals. Her supplies of Cotton from all other countries, except the United States, had been diminishing for many years, save when excessively high prices diverted a larger portion from India to England. The *ratio of increase* in the production of Cotton, in the United States, has been only about three per cent. per annum, or nearly equal to the natural increase of her slave population. Beyond this ratio of increase, the production of Cotton in the United States cannot extend, excepting so far as new and richer lands are obtained and cultivated ; and, even then, an increase from this cause cannot be permanent, as much of the Cotton lands of the South have been worn out and abandoned, and much more must share the same fate. The ratio of increase in the production of Cotton, in the United States, cannot, therefore, rise permanently much beyond three per cent. per annum.

Now, we wish it noted, particularly, that the ratio of increase in the manufacture of Cotton, in the United States and the continent of Europe, equals this three per cent. per annum, and takes up the whole increased production of the United States. Owing to the disturbances in Europe, of a political nature, the manufacturing interests on the con-

continent have been somewhat deranged, but at the opening of 1850, the condition of this question was as we have stated.

England, then, has been left without the means of procuring a sufficient supply of Cotton for her manufactories; and has been driven to extraordinary efforts, for some years past, to remedy this evil. These efforts need not be noticed in detail: they were begun in India, extended to Australia, to South Africa, and last of all to Liberia. The results of these attempts have been rather discouraging, generally, and, in some instances, total failures, except in Liberia; where the soil, climate, and population, afford hopes of complete success, when the new Republic shall have sufficient capital to employ the native labor within its borders.

And here we may be allowed to remark, that it does not appear to be so much from a dislike to the use of the slave grown Cotton of Brazil and the United States, that England is seeking supplies from other countries, as because she cannot obtain enough of it to meet her wants. After using 552,500,000 lbs. of slave grown cotton annually, and but 71,469,000 lbs. of free labor origin, it need not be claimed that the Cotton lords of England have any scruples of conscience on that score.

But we must advert to another aspect of this great question.

When a skillful general has to contend with a powerful foe, he never rushes recklessly on to the contest, relying for victory upon mere bravery; but surveys the enemy's movements and position with care, aims at discovering his plans, and then attacks the posts of most vital importance to his adversary. It cannot, justly, be claimed that the English anti-slavery efforts have been conducted upon this principle; but it can be shown that the slave trader, and those interested in sustaining his unholy traffic, have acted upon it, and, until very recently, have gained strength and superior advantages from every movement made for the suppression of that traffic.

It can also be shown that the signal failure of West India free labor, so unexpected to the emancipationists, and so destructive to the West India planters, was, in a good degree, the legitimate result of the slave trade. Look at the facts. The constant and cheap supply of slaves to the planters of Cuba, enabled them to produce Sugar at £12 the ton; while in the English West Indies, under freedom, the planters have been unable to produce it for less than £20 the ton, though paying the free laborer but  $18\frac{3}{4}$  to 25 cents per day, as wages, the workman boarding himself. Such wages being insufficient to allure the freeman to the toils of the sugar mills, or to induce him to allow his wife or daughters to go there, except from necessity, the planters, unable to pay more, at the prices their Sugar bore in market, could not compete with the Cuban slave holders, and had to abandon their estates. It was thus that the slave trade crippled English West India cultivation, and rendered it wholly powerless as a competitor to slave labor; and it was thus, again, that slavery was made to react so as to sustain the slave trade.

The same remarks will apply to the cultivation of Coffee, and the same results, nearly, have followed, in all cases, where either *manumitted* free labor, or *Pagan* free labor have come into competition with African slave labor, in the production of the commodities which we have been considering. Here are the facts:

Brazil and the Spanish West Indies, excluding Cuba, exported, in

1832, only 94,080,000 lbs. of Coffee; but after the English emancipation of 1833, the enormous importation of slaves into the former countries, enabled them to run up their production so as to export, in 1848, the immense quantity of 313,600,000 lbs. of this article. See the enormous power of the slave trade! In 16 years it enabled these countries to increase their coffee exports from 94,080,000 lbs. to 313,600,000 lbs.!

On the other hand, Hayti, the British West Indies, Ceylon, Mocha, and India, all free labor countries, exported less in 1848, by 6,000,000 lbs., than they had done in 1832.

Java and Sumatra, also free labor countries, though increasing their exports of Coffee from 60,480,000 lbs., in 1832, to 156,800,000 lbs. in 1843; yet, owing to the extreme low prices, in the following years, arising from the heavy supplies from Brazil, they allowed their exports to fall off, in 1848, 12,400,000 lbs. below what it was in 1843.

Cuba, employing slave labor, diminished her coffee exports, it is true, from 49,280,000 lbs., in 1832, to 22,400,000 lbs. in 1848; but it was only to increase her sugar exports from about 100,000,000 lbs. to near 600,000,000 lbs. per annum, and to give the death blow to its production, by free labor, in the British West Indies.

Here, now, without further details, are facts enough to enable thinking men to discern how far the failure of free labor tropical cultivation is due to the slave trade; and to convince them that not only in Sugar and Coffee, throughout the whole field of their production, but in Cotton, too, has manumitted free labor, as well as pagan free labor, failed to sustain itself in competition with African slave labor; and that the slave trade has embarrassed, discouraged, and almost ruined free labor tropical cultivation.

But let us look a little more closely at the position into which this tremendous agent of evil, the slave trade, has thrown the Christian world. By introducing a savage population into new and rising Christian States, where labor was much in demand, it has checked the progress of civilization, and entailed evils that the wisdom of man is unable to remove. By multiplying at will the number of slaves in the world, it has cast a blight upon free labor within the tropics. By rapidly augmenting the supplies of slave labor products, at cheap rates, it has driven those of free labor from the markets, except at ruinous prices, and thus has it successfully paralyzed the arm of the freeman. By securing to slave labor the monopoly of the markets for its products, it has compelled the Christian world to become the prop of that system, by making it necessary that she should consume its fruits. By this decrease of free labor products, it has placed slavery, apparently, upon an immovable basis, enabling it to bid defiance to its enemies, and to force England, the most deeply interested of all nations in its destruction, to become its principal supporter. Thus, the day of freedom for the slave, it would seem, is prolonged, and the hope of the philanthropist almost ready to expire. Here, now, is the position in which this momentous question stood at the opening of 1851.

But before the close of that year, we heard the cheering declaration, by the British Prime Minister, that the slave trade was virtually at an end. Tired of diplomacy with Brazil, and wearied with repeated violations of treaties, on the part of that government, the English squadron

was sent to her coast, and, by firing into the slave trading vessels in her ports, brought her to terms. Brazil at once agreed to prohibit the traffic in slaves to her citizens, and it is confidently believed that she will now act in good faith, inasmuch as she will be closely watched by England.

That the boast of the British Premier was no idle one, is proved by the parliamentary reports of the present year, on the Brazilian slave trade; which show that only about 3,000 slaves had been smuggled into Brazil during the past year, while the number introduced during the five preceding years, had been from 50,000 to 60,000.

The Queen of England, in her speech of the 15th August, 1852, at the prorogation of Parliament, says: "Treaties have been concluded by my naval commanders, with the king of Dahomey and all the African chiefs whose rule extends along the Bight of Benin, for the total abolition of the slave trade, which at present is wholly suppressed upon that post."

The recent purchase of the territory between Liberia and Sierra Leone, by President Roberts, upon which our Ohio colony is to be planted, has placed the whole of that part of the coast under the jurisdiction of the Liberian authorities, and forever rendered the slave trade illegal throughout its former strong holds in the Gallinas and Grand Cape Mount.

We may, therefore, say, remarks the editor of a leading Boston paper, that there is not now, on the whole coast of Africa, a single open, legalized slave mart for the foreign trade. Slaves may, and no doubt will be smuggled from Africa, as long as Cuba encourages the traffic; but there is no longer any place on that continent, where slaves can be openly collected and kept for the foreign market and sold to foreign traders, under cover of African laws.

This, then, is a new and most important fact, to be added to those which we have noticed in our rapid review of the present condition of free labor and slave labor, and it must produce great revolutions in the questions we have been considering. Let us, therefore, proceed to take a calm and dispassionate review of the history of past events and results, so as to form a sound judgment of what will be the practical effects of the suppression of the slave trade, upon the interests of free labor and slave labor respectively. As the prosecution of that traffic, by supplying an abundance of laborers, at cheap rates, has paralyzed free labor tropical cultivation, every where, and secured to slave labor the principal monopoly of the markets of the world for its products, let us see what results may be anticipated from the suppression of the slave trade and the consequent suspension of the supplies of slaves from Africa to the planters of Cuba and Brazil.

As like causes produce like effects, under similar circumstances, we must see if a like event with the present suppression of the slave trade, has before occurred, and then ascertain the results that followed. A case precisely parallel, is afforded in the history of the prohibition of the slave trade, to the British West India planters, by the English Parliament.

These planters, up to 1806, had received from the slave traders an uninterrupted supply of laborers, and had rapidly extended their cultivation as commerce increased its demands for their products. Let us take the results in Jamaica as an example of the whole of the British

West India Islands. She had increased her exports of sugar from a yearly average of 123,979,000 lbs. in 1772-3, to 234,700,000 lbs. in 1805-6. No diminution of exports had occurred, as has been asserted by some anti-slavery writers, before the prohibition of the slave trade. The increase was progressive and undisturbed, except so far as affected by seasons more or less favorable. But no sooner was her supply of slaves cut off, by the Act of 1806, which took effect in 1808, than the exports of Jamaica began to diminish, until her sugar had fallen off from 1822 to 1832, to an annual average of 131,129,000 lbs., or nearly to what they had been sixty years before. It was not until 1833 that the Emancipation Act was passed; so that this decline in the exports of Jamaica, took place under all the rigors of West India slavery.

The cause of this decline in the exports of the British West India colonies, is easily explained. The planters preferred *males* as laborers, and the slave traders imported males, principally, from Africa, to sell to them. As soon, therefore, as the supplies were withheld, the slave population began to diminish, by the usual mortality among the adults; so that, at the end of about twenty-three years, according to Buxton, instead of any increase, they had decreased from 800,000 to 700,000. The result of this movement was, that the exports from the whole British West Indies, were reduced one-third below what they had been before the prohibition of the slave trade.

Now, let us inquire a moment into the condition of Cuba and Brazil, which have been as fully dependent upon the slave trade for their supply of laborers, as the British West Indies were before 1808.

A census of Cuba, a few years since, showed that out of a slave population of 425,000 there were but 150,000 females. The slave population of Brazil is believed to be composed of about the same disproportion in the sexes as that of Cuba. The rate of mortality among adult slaves, imported from Africa, is very great, being in Brazil, as before stated, near ten per cent. per annum, and requiring a renewal of that class of slaves, on the plantations, once in ten years.

It is very easy, with these lights before us, to foresee what must be the effect of the suppression of the slave trade on Cuba and Brazil. The supply of slaves being cut off, the deaths must, in a few years, equalize the sexes, and result in a great decrease of the slave population. This must produce a corresponding diminution in their exports, for many years, extending, annually, to at least one-third their former amount. This decrease in the supply of slave labor products, will create a corresponding increase of their prices in the markets. But this enhancement of their value will not compensate the Cuban and Brazilian slave holders for their diminished production and the losses in the number of their slaves. The suppression of the slave trade, then, will be a serious pecuniary loss to the slaveholders of these two countries.

But who are to be benefited by this revolution in slave labor countries, hitherto dependent upon the slave trade? Undoubtedly, the benefits will be enjoyed by free labor, wherever it is employed in the cultivation of similar products; and by slave labor in countries not depending upon the African slave trade. This stimulus to industry, then, will reach Hayti, the British West Indies, and Liberia, to prompt their freemen to greater industry, by the prospect of better compensation

for their labor. As the supplies of slave-grown products diminish, and the prices increase, free labor products must be multiplied, and free labor itself, in some degree, be released from its embarrassments.

But this stimulus of higher prices will reach the United States in a much greater degree, because our slaveholders are prepared, at once, to avail themselves of these advantages, and it will add to the stability of slavery, by increasing the price of its products, and enhancing the value of the slaves. Already the short supply of Cotton, before noticed, has vastly increased the value of both Cotton and slaves, and the suppression of the slave trade, at this juncture, must greatly add to the advantages of the slaveholder of the United States.

After all the efforts, therefore, that have been made for the destruction of slavery, during a half century of unwearied exertion, the progress of events has so complicated this great problem, that at the very moment when the slave trade is supposed to be extinguished, or nearly so, and tropical free labor left unshackled, the Christian world is more deeply indebted to slave labor than at any former period, and the slavery of the United States rendered more permanent and profitable, to all human appearance, than at any time since its origin.

If any one doubts the justness of this conclusion, as a fair deduction from the facts which have been presented, we most sincerely and earnestly invite him to show us our error, as our only aim is the discovery of truth, in the light of which alone, can we hope to discover the path of duty, in relation to the great questions connected with the redemption of the African race.

The investigations now completed, have conducted us to a most interesting conclusion, and brought out results wholly different, no doubt, from what most of our readers have been anticipating. They are, however, legitimate deductions from the facts connected with the subject, and show, most conclusively, that the question of slavery, in our country, is placed upon new grounds.

It shows, also, that those who have had the control of the anti-slavery movements, have manifested little foresight in their policy, as nearly every measure adopted to check or suppress the evils of slavery and the slave trade, have been followed by results the reverse of what they expected, and were laboring to secure. But we have no disposition to find fault, our only aim being to point to the bearing that the new order of things must have upon African Colonization and the prosperity of the Republic of Liberia.

While our researches have revealed the immense extent to which the Christian world is now consuming slave-grown products, at the same time the utmost capacity of slave labor, to meet the demands of commerce, has also been discovered. This is something gained. In the United States, the ratio of increase in the annual production of Cotton, keeps even pace with the natural increase of the slaves, and nothing more. Our sugar growers cannot go beyond this, except as they draw off the laborers from the cotton fields. Thus stands the slave labor of the United States.

The slave population of Cuba and Brazil, should the slave trade be effectually suppressed, will soon be placed upon the same basis as that of the United States. The planters there, will have no increase of

laborers, excepting from the natural increase of the slaves. The reduction of the slave population, by the death of the excess of males, judging from the results in the English colonies, after 1808, will not be made up by the natural increase, in less than thirty years. Until that occurs, Cuba and Brazil will be unable to keep their exports up to the present amount. The exports of the English colonies, upon the prohibition of the slave trade, fell off one-third, and a like result may now be expected in Brazil and Cuba.

Under these circumstances, the utmost capacity of slave labor, in tropical and semi-tropical cultivation, can be accurately estimated, and the extent of its supplies to commerce be clearly foreseen. This will enable the friends of free labor to measure the strength and resources of the forces with which they must compete—a thing that was impossible under the reign of the slave trade. But on this point we shall not speculate.

The present inability of free labor and slave labor, both combined, to meet the demands of commerce, and the reduction of cultivation that must occur in Cuba and Brazil, will leave a vacuum in the markets, for tropical products, to be filled from other sources, or to give an increased value to the amount that can be supplied from the present fields of cultivation.

But who is to be enriched by this result? Who is to supply the deficit, and reap the golden harvest it will afford? Or, in default of augmented cultivation, who are to have their coffers made to overflow by an increase in the price of the productions they are able to furnish? These questions are worth considering, and we must give them a moment's attention.

The English West India free labor colonies cannot be much benefited, at present, by this increased demand for tropical products, as they cannot, immediately, increase their cultivation to any great extent. This will be readily admitted, when it is stated that the lands in these colonies are mostly held by white men, who reside in England; and that the colored men in the islands own but a few acres each—barely enough, generally, to afford the necessary amount of food for their families.

But already the West India landholders are bestirring themselves at the brightening prospects, and are appealing to the free colored people of the United States, to rush over to the islands, become loyal subjects of Queen Victoria, and faithful laborers on the plantations of English gentlemen! Our free colored men, however, deserve something better than this, and they know it: and they give indications of a determination to reject the proffered boon of becoming mere laborers in the sugar mills of the West Indies, especially as they cannot expect over *fifty cents* per day, as wages.

Doubtless, an increase of wages will now command more of the native labor of these islands, than at any time since emancipation, and tend to multiply their exports; but no great advancement can be made until the intelligence of the colored people is raised much above the present standard, by more extensive means of education than now prevail, nor even then, until they become the owners of the soil.

As Hayti still exports about one-third of her former amount of Coffee, she will be benefited by the rise in the price of that article; but as her

Sugar and Cotton cultivation has been greatly neglected for many years, she will derive little present advantage from that quarter by any increased demand.

Liberia, with only eight or nine thousand colonists, and eighty thousand partially civilized natives, mostly engaged in trade, or in producing food for home consumption, cannot derive any material benefit from an increased demand for Coffee, Sugar, and Cotton, for some years to come. Her citizens, however, are now turning attention to their cultivation with encouraging success; and British capitalists offer to her citizens any amount of means for the employment of native labor in the cultivation of Cotton. Liberia can command an unbounded extent of fertile tropical lands, well adapted to the cultivation of all the three great staples upon which slave labor is now chiefly employed. She has within her own jurisdiction at least 300,000 natives, mostly uncivilized, and is backed in the interior and flanked on the west and east by untold millions who must ultimately be redeemed from barbarism. All this labor she must one day control. But as she has not now a sufficient number of men to carry on the work of civilization, and to control this labor, her wealth cannot be greatly augmented by any extent of demand for articles she is not producing.

Recent experiments in Australia, for the cultivation of Cotton, are said to have been eminently successful, but the still more recent discovery of gold in that country has drawn off the laborers from the cotton cultivation to the more tempting occupation of gold digging.

It appears from these statements, that no tropical free labor country can derive much immediate benefit from an increased demand for tropical products; and that the great practical good derived from it is only a consciousness that the slave trade can no longer paralyze tropical free labor and render the fruits of its industry valueless in the markets of the world. This, however, is one great point gained, and constitutes an era in the history of the African race.

The parties, then, who will necessarily be benefited in the greatest degree, by the suppression of the slave trade, will be the native population of Africa and the slaveholders in the United States. All free labor countries, it is true, will be stimulated to immediate action, but they will require time to realize much of the benefits of the coming changes in the condition of slavery. The natives of Africa will merely be freed from their greatest curse, and be better prepared for civilization. Then, it is evident, that in the suppression of the slave trade, the slaveholders of the United States, alone, of all the parties named, will at once enter upon the enjoyment of the benefits of these changes, and will continue to be enriched thereby, until free labor multiplies its forces and throws into the markets a sufficient amount of products to supply the demand and reduce the prices.

But can free labor do this in a day, a year, or ten years? Certainly not. The task, however, has been begun, and in the only mode, and on the only territory in which it can succeed; and, but for the unfortunate opposition of the Abolitionists, this work might have been in a much greater state of forwardness than we now find it. That mode is *to employ the labor of Africa within Africa*. Many moderate anti-slavery men, who have hitherto opposed us in this effort to call out free

labor in Africa, are now giving up their opposition to Colonization; being convinced that the good of the colored men themselves, as well as the interests of free labor, can be most efficiently promoted by emigration to Liberia. But others are still violently opposed to Colonization.

Leaving out the 500,000 free colored persons of the United States, and there are but about one million and three quarters of African freemen employed in the cultivation of Coffee, Sugar, and Cotton, for export; while the slave population, now similarly employed, is not less than six millions and three quarters! Allowing the decrease of the slave population, in Cuba and Brazil, that will follow the suppression of the slave trade, only to equal that in the English colonies, after 1808, and there will still be left at least six millions of slaves as competitors against one million and three quarters of freemen.

Now, the contest, if conducted with these forces alone, will be an unequal one, as the degree of intelligence among the majority of the emancipated West India people is but a few degrees higher than that of the natives of Africa, and their voluntary industry will be proportionally unproductive.

In stating the strength of the free labor forces, employed as rivals to slave labor, we have not included the 500,000 free colored men of the United States. This was intentional, as they do not belong to the forces *practically* arrayed against slavery. On the contrary, they are, to the utmost of their pecuniary ability, as a body, engaged in its support. We speak knowingly, and mean what we say and beg to be heard.

It is the extensive demand for slave labor products, and the profits on their sale, which is the main prop of slavery. Destroy this demand, and slave labor becomes valueless. Let the consumers become producers, and the task is accomplished to the full extent of the change effected. Draw off enough of the consumers into the ranks of the producers, to supply the demand for slave grown products, at lower rates than slave labor can afford them; and the whole system must be paralyzed, just as certainly as the cheap slave labor, supplied by the slave trade, was ruinous to free labor.

But the free colored people of the United States, instead of being thus arrayed against slavery, by remaining here, are practically sustaining that institution, and perpetuating it as far as the patronage of a half million of customers can lend it support.

How are they doing this? The colored people have sworn eternal enmity to slavery, and have pledged themselves to struggle for its downfall; how is it, then, that they can be thus engaged, perseveringly, in the support of an institution towards which they bear an unbounded hatred?

Well, they are doing it in this way, and, like the Christian world at large, they are supporting slavery from necessity. At a moderate estimate, each free colored person purchases, annually, three dollars' worth of cotton goods for clothing. This gives a support to slave labor, and its manufacturing allies, of one million and a half of dollars a year; an amount more than equal to the whole sum expended in founding the Republic of Liberia; and which, if invested in the hire of native labor in Africa, would employ over 60,000 freemen in the cultivation of Cotton, and give a tremendous impulse to free labor.

We know the free colored people did not mean so, but for all practical purposes, in the contest for African freedom, they have, all along, been fighting on the wrong side !

But what can these 500,000 free colored people do, to prevent the profitable extension of slave labor, now appearing so inevitable in consequence of its advantageous position ! Shall they fight ? That is a hopeless remedy. Shall they remain here to agitate the question, and continue the consumption of slave grown products ? The past history of this mode of warfare, proves it powerless in promoting their object. What can they do, then, to secure to free labor at least the benefits of the increasing demands for tropical products, and thus limit slavery to its present advantages, and prevent its further extension ? Surely, the answer is a plain one. Let these 500,000 free colored persons become producers of free labor products, instead of consumers of those that are slave grown, and let them call to their aid ten times their own numbers, and soon their weight, as a people, would be felt and acknowledged by the Christian world. But there is no country in the world, except Africa, where a sufficient amount of laborers can be found to affect this great question.

And here now, allow us to say, that the whole practical tendency of Colonization, so far as it has reference to the free colored people, from the day of its origin, has been to array them on the side of free labor ; and that, too, under such circumstances as would best promote their own interests and that of their children, and advance the cause of human freedom in Africa and throughout the world. For, so long as Africa remains barbarous, just so long will the people of color, scattered throughout the world, be reckoned as an inferior race, not capable of enjoying equal rights with the white races among whom they dwell.

And allow us to say, further, that we do not expect that these 500,000 free colored persons, by emigrating to Liberia, will be able, by the labor of their own hands to compete with the slave labor still employed in tropical cultivation, and to secure to themselves, at once, all the benefits of the increasing demands of commerce for the productions of the tropics : but we do say, that they will be equal participants in it, and that there is no other possible mode of employing the African free labor within Africa, and making it rival African slave labor in other countries, but by the emigration of intelligent colored men to that continent, to take its labor under their care and give it a proper direction.

And is not the control of the labor of Africa sufficiently valuable to tempt the enterprise of intelligent colored men to secure its possession ? Heretofore nations have contended for its monopoly, and is it not worth the attention of individuals ? Look at what African labor has done out of Africa, and then judge of its capabilities if employed within Africa ; and judge, also, of the priceless boon which southern slaveholders bestow upon their bondmen, when they offer them freedom in Liberia !

Hitherto the thousands of millions of dollars' worth of products, transported by commerce to the ends of the earth, from the tropical and semi-tropical districts of the Western Hemisphere, to aggrandize the nations who possessed their control, have all been created by the strong arms and broken hearts of the sons and daughters of Africa. Century after century, Africa's children have been torn from her bosom, to labor for

the enrichment of strangers, and to die and be forgotten as the brutes of the field ! Nor was this accomplished but by dreadful losses of human life — losses, which, if occurring in any ordinary branch of commerce, would lead to its abandonment as a ruinous speculation. Look at these losses but a moment : for each 300 men, made available to the planter, by the slave trade, Africa had to lose 1,000 — the 700 perishing in the casualties attending the traffic. Tropical cultivation must be vastly profitable to bear such losses as this. And yet, with all these disadvantages, what has not slave labor accomplished in the production of wealth ! Take as an example, the slave grown crops of Coffee, Sugar, and Cotton, for a single year, namely, 1849, and their market value, at only eight and one-half cents per pound, was over *two hundred and thirty millions of dollars ! !*

Now if African labor, after the destruction of seven-tenths, to make three-tenths available, has enriched half the nations of the world, and now supplies the basis of two-thirds of their commerce, what may not be expected for Africa herself, when all her labor shall become available for her own aggrandizement ?

And, need we repeat, that Colonization is but a broad scheme of *intervention*, for securing to Africa the benefits of her own labor ; that Liberia is but the foundation stone of the glorious temple, yet to be reared in Africa, to freedom and to God ; that the part we ask our free colored people to perform, is but to perfect this work of benevolence and love ; that without their aid, the development of the resources of Africa must be slow, and slave labor be left, almost without a rival, to extend itself upon this continent, crushing free labor and the colored freeman both into the dust ; and that, though there will be six millions of slaves, against whom to do battle in the markets of the world, the free colored people, by removing to Africa, will have one hundred millions of their own race to summon to their aid, in sustaining themselves in this final struggle for the social, civil, and religious redemption of themselves and of the long benighted land of their fathers.

And who will now dare to oppose Colonization, and say, that Africa, after enriching the world by her labor, shall not now receive back to her embrace, enough of her captive children to secure to herself the profits of her industry ! Who will be bold enough to deny to her enough of her enlightened sons, to organize her scattered tribes into one great nation, enabling her to become the gigantic commercial country, for which she is so eminently fitted by her immense population and wonderful agricultural resources !

With such facts before him, as are embraced in these pages, who can fail to foresee the results of the new contest that is commencing, and to realize that the triumph or defeat of tropical free labor, is dependent upon the course of action adopted by the colored freemen of the United States. Truly, may it be said, that the destiny of Africa, and the African race, is now in their hands ! And, with equal truth, may we not assert, that opposition to Colonization, is opposition to the extension of Free Labor, and must tend to the perpetuation of slavery.

OXFORD, O., *December, 1852.*

## *Does the Slave Trade exist among Liberians?*

THE organization of the Republic of Liberia, has effected a radical change in the commercial regulations within the territory over which it claims jurisdiction. The laws of the Republic have interfered with the business of the merchants trading on that coast, by requiring that they shall now pay duties on the goods sold to the natives, where formerly they could traffic freely, without being interrupted by tariffs. This change in the mode of conducting their trade, has lessened the profits of the merchants, and has enraged, against the Republic, that class of them who have been more anxious to amass fortunes than to promote the social and moral welfare of the African people.

The feebleness of the little Republic seems to have led this class of men to believe, that, if they could succeed in persuading Christian nations to withdraw their protection, the settlements might easily be destroyed by hostile natives, or the government compelled to relinquish its claims to the exercise of sovereignty. In either case, the trade of the coast would be restored to its previous condition, and they left in the possession of their former advantages.

The most artful and successful mode of attack upon Liberia, has been to represent the Colonists as aiding in the slave trade, and as subjecting the natives to slavery. This charge has been so often repeated, that the friends of Liberia, in England, have investigated the subject, and the following testimony, from men of the highest character in the British Navy, has been collected and laid before the public. Other testimony, equally conclusive, might be added, but what is here appended, is considered as amply sufficient to stamp the charges as infamously false.

But we must first, state that the Constitution framed for the Colonists, by the American Colonization Society, and by which they were governed from 1825 to 1836, declared, "Art. V. There shall be no slavery in the settlement;" and, further, that in 1839, a Legislative Council was created in Liberia, and the Constitution remodeled, so as to read thus:

ART. 20. "There shall be no slavery in the Commonwealth."

ART. 22. "There shall be no dealing in slaves by any citizen of the Commonwealth, either within or beyond the limits of the same."

In 1847, the Colony declared itself an Independent Republic, with the following language in its Constitution:

"ART. I.—Sec. 1. All men are born equally free and independent, and among their natural, inherent and inalienable rights, are the rights of enjoying and defending *life* and LIBERTY.

Sec. 4. There shall be no slavery within this Republic. Nor shall any citizen of this Republic or any person resident therein, deal in slaves, either within or without this Republic.

Sec. 8. No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, property, privilege, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land.

In testimony of her sincerity, in reference to human rights, in her Treaty with England, which went into operation in April, 1850, Liberia binds herself as follows:

ART. 9. "Slavery and the slave trade being perpetually abolished in the Republic of Liberia, the Republic engages that a law shall be passed declaring it to be piracy for *any Liberian citizen* or vessel to be engaged or concerned in the slave trade."

Now for the testimony in relation to the faithfulness with which all these articles have been executed. [We quote from the Colonization Herald, Dec. 1852]

"Captain Arabian, R. N., in one of his despatches says: "Nothing has been done more to suppress the slave trade in this quarter, than the constant intercourse of the natives with these industrious colonists;" and, again: "Their character is exceedingly correct and moral; their minds strongly impressed with religious feeling; and their domestic habits, remarkably neat and comfortable." "Wherever the influence of Liberia extends, the slave trade has been abandoned by the natives."

Lieutenant Stott, R. N., in a letter to Dr. Hodgkin, dated July, 1840, says, it (Liberia) promises to be the only successful institution on the coast of Africa, keeping in mind its objects, viz: "that of raising the African slave into a free man; the extinction of the slave trade; and the religious and moral improvement of Africa;" and adds, "The surrounding Africans are aware of the nature of the colony, taking refuge when persecuted by the few neighboring slave traders. The remnant of a tribe have lately fled to and settled in the colony on land granted them. Between my two visits, a lapse of only a few days, four or five slaves sought refuge from their master, who was about to sell or had sold them to the only slave factory on the coast. The native chiefs in the neighborhood have that respect for the colonists, that they have made treaties for the abolition of the slave trade."

Captain Irving, R. N., in a letter to Dr. Hodgkin, August 3d, 1840, observes: "You ask me if they aid in the slave trade. I assure you, no! and I am sure the colonists would feel themselves much hurt should they know such a question could possibly arise in England. In my opinion it is the best and safest plan for the extinction of the slave trade, and the civilization of Africa; for it is a well known fact that wherever their flag flies it is an eye sore to the slave dealers."

Captain Herbert, R. N.: "With regard to the present state of slave taking in the colony of Liberia, I have never known one instance of a slave being owned or disposed of by a colonist. On the contrary, I have known them to render great facility to our cruisers there in taking vessels engaged in that nefarious traffic."

Captain Dunlop, who had abundant opportunities for becoming acquainted with Liberia during the years 1848, '49, and '50, says: "I am perfectly satisfied no such thing as domestic slavery exists, in any shape amongst the citizens of the Republic."

Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, Commander-in-chief of H. B. Majesty's squadron on the Western Coast of Africa, in a letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty, dated April 7, 1847, and published in the Parliamentary Returns, says: "On perusing the correspondence of my predecessors, I found a great difference of opinion existing as to the views and objects of the settlers; some even accusing the governor of lending himself to the slave trade. After discussing the whole subject with officers and others best qualified to judge on the matter, I not only satisfied my own mind that there is no reasonable cause for such a suspicion, but further, that this establishment merits all the support we can give it; for it is only through their means that we can hope to improve the African race." Subsequently, in 1849, the same officer gave his testimony before the House of Lords, in the following language: "There is no necessity for the squadron watching the coast between Sierra Leone and Cape Palmas, as the Liberian territory intervenes, and there the slave trade has been extinguished."